

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /081 W

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R 300335Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6988

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 12781

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UN US

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REF: (A) STATE 234389, (B) BELGRADE 3720

1. WE HAVE CONVEYED TO GOI OUR GENERAL APPRECIATION FOR THEIR SUPPORT ON KOREAN AND PUERTO RICO ISSUES. THEY ARE AS GRATIFIED AS WE THAT THESE ISSUES HAVE BEEN PUT ASIDE FOR AT LEAST ONE MORE YEAR.

2. WE AGREE WITH REF. A THAT EFFECTIVE DIALOGUE IN ADVANCE OF COLOMBO AND UNGA WAS HELPFUL IN BRINGING ABOUT POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON INDONESIA'S PART. IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT WE WERE SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE WE CONCENTRATED ON TWO ISSUES IN WHICH U.S. INTERESTS WERE CLEARLY INVOLVED.

3. IN INDONESIA'S CASE THERE WERE FURTHER REASONS:

4. ON KOREA:

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A. KOREANS THEMSELVES WERE ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE IN JAKARTA. WE DID NOT FACE SITUATION WHERE COUNTRY MOST DIRECTLY INTERESTED WAS SILENT.

B. INDONESIAN-SOUTH KOREAN RELATIONS ARE CLOSE. ISSUE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY HELPED BY RECENT KOREAN AGREEMENT TO BUILD PATROL VESSELS FOR INDONESIA ON FAVORABLE FINANCIAL TERMS.

C. INDONESIAN WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT AND DEFEND KEY ELEMENTS OF OUR POSITION, NAMELY, THAT SOUTH KOREA SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM DISCUSSIONS ON FUTURE OF PENINSULA.

D. SECRETARY'S PROPOSALS FOR FOUR-POWER MEETING WERE TIMELY AND CHINESE DID NOT OPPOSE.

E. INDONESIAN WERE NOT ALONE IN THEIR RESERVATIONS AND DID NOT AT ANY TIME HAVE TO CAST NEGATIVE VOTE AGAINST NORTH KOREA. IN DEFERMENT THEY HAD AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE.

5. ON PUERTO RICO:

A. UNITED NATIONS HAD ALREADY RULED THAT PUERTO RICO WAS NOT NON SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY. INDONESIA PUTS MUCH STOCK IN UN LEGALITIES.

B. NON-ALIGNED NATIONS WERE NOT UNITED ON ISSUE. INDONESIANS HAD FLEXIBILITY AND THEY ALSO HAD OTHER SUPPORT.

C. THERE IS RECOGNITION OF SOME OBLIGATION TO U.S. ISSUE AROSE JUST AFTER WE HAD SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED GRANT PORTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. WE DID NOT RELATE THIS IN ANY WAY IN OUR ARGUMENTS BUT WE CANNOT HELP FEEL IT MAY HAVE BEEN USEFUL FACTOR.

6. AS DEPARTMENT NOTES IN REF. A, WE WILL HAVE GREATER DIFFICULTY IN GETTING FIRM INDONESIAN SUPPORT ON OTHER ISSUES, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHICH RELATE TO U.S. PUBLIC OPINION AND U.S. PARTICIPATION IN UNITED NATIONS. MIDDLE  
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EAST QUESTIONS WILL BE ESPECIALLY TROUBLESOME. GOI OFFICIALS MAY BE SYMPATHETIC BUT DOMESTIC INDONESIAN FACTORS ARE PRESENT AND DIRECT INDONESIAN INTEREST IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY GREAT TO LEAD THEM TO BUCK DOMESTIC AND NON-ALIGNED CONSIDERATIONS. ARGUMENT THAT U.S. DOMESTIC OPINION INVOLVED HAS LITTLE WEIGHT WHEN WE FACE QUESTION IN WHICH INDONESIAN DOMESTIC OPINION INVOLVED ON OPPOSITE SIDE. IN CASES LIKE UNESCO AND ZIONISM-RACIAL ISSUE, WE

SHOULD ALSO SEEL FORMULA WHICH CAN DELAY OR AVOID VOTE.  
IF VOTE DOES TAKE PLACE, ABSTENTION IS MOST THAT WE CAN  
EXPECT.

7. OUR EFFECTIVENESS ON ISSUES IS ALSO ENHANCED IF WE CAN  
CONFINE DISCUSSIONS AND SURROUNDING PUBLIC DEBATE TO MERITS  
OF SPECIFIC ISSUE AND CAN AVOID APPEARING TO CAST DOUBT ON  
VALIDITY OF BROADER SOLIDARITY AMONG DEVELOPING NATIONS.  
IN THIS CONNECTION, WE HAVE NOTED BEGRADE'S COMMENTS IN  
REF. B ON RESPONDING TO NON-ALIGNED RHETORIC. AS FAR AS  
INDONESIA IS CONCERNED, PUBLIC STATEMENTS ATTACKING GROUP  
OF 77 OR NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AS "UNREALISTIC", "EXTREME"  
OR "ENGAGING IN RHETORIC" ARE UNHELPFUL IN CREATING PROPER  
ATMOSPHERE FOR EFFECTIVE DISCUSSIONS OF SINGLE ISSUES  
IMPORTANT TO US. UNDERLYING INDONESIAN DISCUSSIONS OF  
SUCH ISSUES IS STRONG BELIEF IN CORRECTNESS OF TACTICS OF  
DEVELOPING NATIONS, STRONG ATTACHMENT OF SOLIDARITY AND  
SENSITIVITY TO ASPERSIONS CAST ON THEIR SERIOUSNESS OF  
APPROPRIATENESS OF THEIR DEMANDS. ANALOGY SOMETIMES GIVEN  
TO US BY INDONESIAN FRIENDS IS OF MILITANT LABOR UNION  
WHICH IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS INDIVIDUAL ISSUES BUT NOT  
FUTURE OF UNION ITSELF.

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## Message Attributes

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